

Whose War

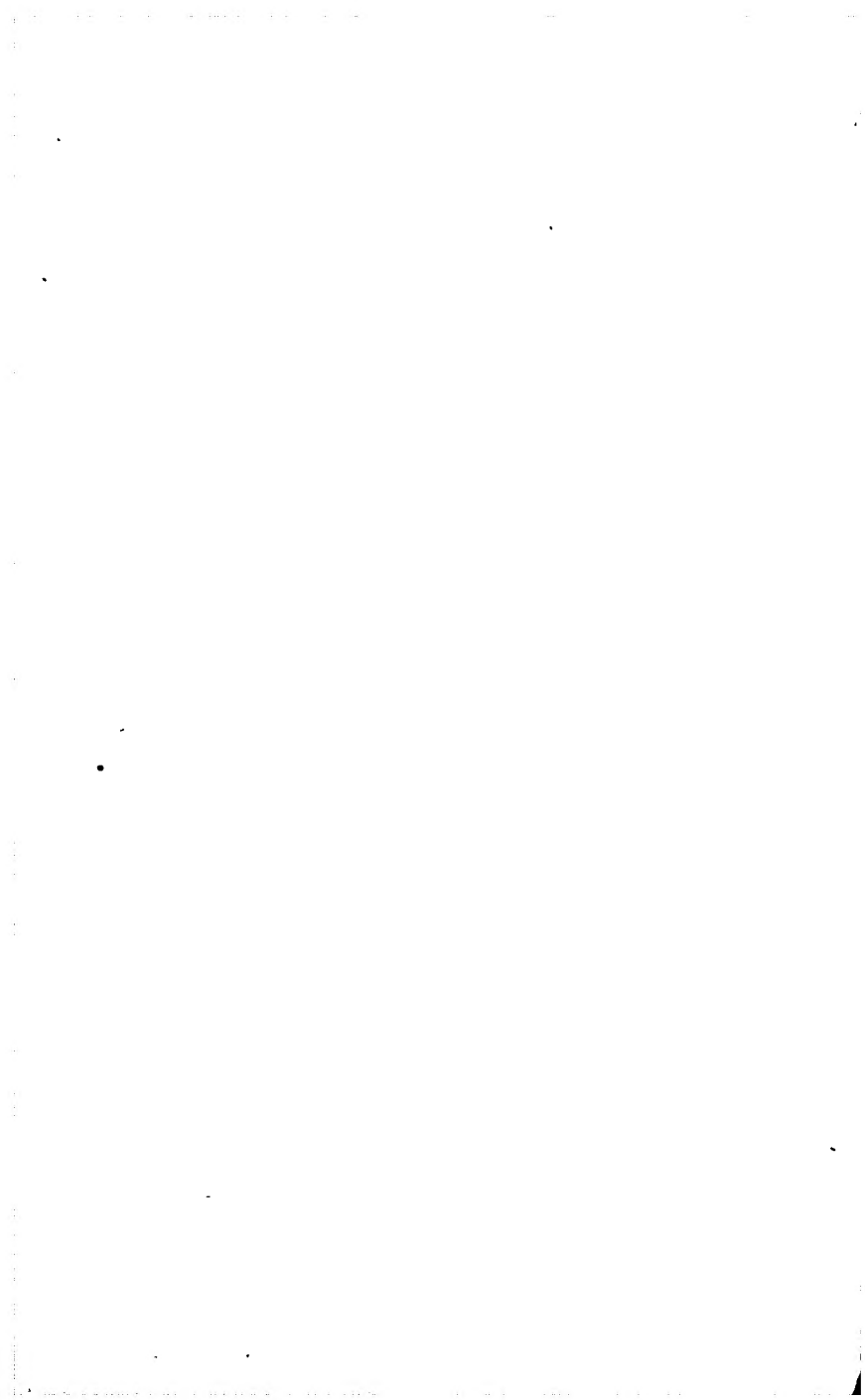


—A Reply to
the Liberal Party's
Winnipeg Free Press



— By —
LESLIE MORRIS

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Bloody and Prolonged !

(Excerpts from Free Press editorial of June 23,
1941, the day after Hitler attacked the
Soviet Union.)

“ . . . What is apparent is that the thieves fell out. . . . At any rate the break came and the two most detestable regimes in the world are now at grips with each other. May they do much to devour and destroy each other, and thus open the way for governments whose aims will make it possible for their peoples to live in peace with the world. . . . But these considerations, important as they are, lie in the future. At the moment in a strange, inscrutable way, we have another ally to whom we send our fervent hopes that its resistance will be strenuous, skilful, bloody and prolonged.”

FOREWORD



THE pamphlet here offered to the reader was written in the last days of October, 1943. While it was being prepared for the printer, the full texts of the agreement reached at the Moscow Conference of the foreign ministers of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Great Britain were made public. Consequently, the pamphlet should be read in the light of those agreements.

The whole democratic world has greeted enthusiastically the accord reached in Moscow on November 1, 1943. A bright promise for greater military co-operation to shorten the war against Hitler, for the establishment of a democratic Europe and for the construction of a system to collectively prevent any further fascist aggression on the territories of peaceful nations, has been given to the world.

The harsh, unfriendly and harmful line of the Winnipeg Free Press appears all the more vicious, precisely because of the Moscow agreements. Had the policy of the Free Press prevailed, the Moscow conference would have foundered on the rocks of prejudice and hate.

It is necessary, now, for all Canadians to put into their war effort the added strength called forward by the Moscow agreements; and, as part of that effort, it is necessary to be at all times on guard against any repetition of the Free Press line.

That is so, because already the Free Press is dressing its arguments up in new clothes. On November 8, for example, *after* the Moscow agreements had been signed, the Free Press had the audacity to state that Stalin had seen the light, and sharply condemned the advocates of the second front for asking for those things which the Moscow Conference agreed upon! It also says that now Russia has at last agreed to international co-operation! Shades of Maxim Litvinoff!

We believe Leslie Morris is well fitted, as the editor of the Canadian Tribune, to write this small contribution to the cause of unity and all-out war. As the candidate of the Labor-Progressive Party in the federal constituency of Winnipeg North, he is particularly able to reply to the Winnipeg Free Press.

We emphasize, however, that this pamphlet is of interest not only to Winnipeggers, but to all Canadians, in as much as the Winnipeg Free Press is one of the main organs of the Liberal Party in Canada.

—Manitoba Provincial Committee,
Labor-Progressive Party.



War IS Politics

The policies a country pursues have a great deal to do with its fate. The present war is a development, in many ways, of the politics of the days before the war. What were those politics, in a nutshell?

On the one hand, the fight of the masses of the people (but unfortunately, only a few governments such as those of Spain, Czechoslovakia, the U.S.S.R., China) for a world front against the fascist threat. On the part of the Axis, open and unashamed plans for the forcible domination of the world. On the part of the United States, Canada, France and Britain, a policy of vacillation and retreat before the demands of the Axis, which culminated first in the Munich Pact and then in the outbreak of *world war*—a war which had raged in *sections of the world* before that: in Spain and China and on the Soviet-Japanese border.

It was of the logic of events that this tragic situation be carried over even after Britain and the Dominions declared war on Germany. What we speak of nowadays as "the phoney war" was a continuation of a policy of appeasement even in the conditions of the war. When Hitler advanced into the Lowlands and France the awful fruits of Munichism came home to us. But Hitler still banked upon divisions among the allies, mainly arising from the hatred of the Soviet Union which permeated many prominent and powerful men. He finally sent his emissary Rudolf Hess in a last-minute effort to come to some agreement with these men on a joint war against Russia.

It is to the credit of Winston Churchill, and history will record it, that he spurned these blandishments, per-

haps because he knew the truth of what Litvinoff had been saying for years—that Hitler fascism could not be bought off permanently, and that anyone who tried to make such a bargain would himself fall victim to Axis domination.

Hitler attacked Russia on June 22, 1941, because he knew, better than some of the democratic countries, that his plan for the conquest of the world could not be carried through so long as the Soviet Union existed. He took the terrible chance of starting the Eastern war in the hope that:

1. Britain was so weakened after Dunkirk that she could not attack him from the West.

2. The U.S.A., when it came into the war (which it did not do until December, 1941) would be too slow in mobilizing to prevent his conquest of the U.S.S.R. and consequently of the whole of Europe and Asia.

3. Even if these two hopes failed, Hitler thought that the "fear of Communism" would prevent a co-ordinated war against him—in other words, a second front.

Roosevelt and Churchill and Stalin, together frustrated the first two hopes. The United Nations came into being instead of the disunited nations Hitler had based his strategy upon. The *dominant* forces in the world henceforward were those anti-Hitler forces which had suffered terrible setbacks up to 1941. The forces of Munich (i.e., hatred of the U.S.S.R. greater than hatred of Hitler) received a body blow.

For the first period of the war against the U.S.S.R., Hitler had the advantage of surprise, and unreadiness in Britain and the U.S.A. Had that been coupled with any weakness on the part of the U.S.S.R., the war might have been lost in 1941. But the power of the Red Army, the unity of the Soviet home front and the magnificent strategy of the Soviet command, frustrated Hitler's military plan for the conquest of the U.S.S.R. At Smolensk and

at Moscow, in the winter of 1941-42, his grand strategy of a *lightning victory* was upset; at Stalingrad it was permanently destroyed.

In all this time, the military power of Britain was restored, with the generous help of Canada and the U.S.A. The full productive and military powers of the United States were mobilized in double-quick order. *We now have an enormous amount of men and materials ready for the all-out onslaught upon western Europe which Hitler has so long dreaded.* We have shown our military skill and courage in North Africa, Italy and in the South Pacific. We have, slowly and painfully, smashed the shipping bottleneck and crippled Hitler's U-boat campaign. One by one, all the obstacles to our landing in Europe have disappeared. We have established the "third front," as Winston Churchill has said, in Italy, but as yet we have not attacked in force from our main military base, the British Isles, and have not engaged our rightful share of the Nazi divisions in battle.

This delay is prolonging the war and piling up difficulties within the camp of the United Nations. Prolongation of the war brings many dangers with it, not only to our alliances with our friends, but increases the threat of disturbances on the home front.

Hitler is still banking on his third hope — "fear of Communism," to avoid disaster. But again he will fail.

Now, if at any time, we must keep our heads clear and hang on for dear life to that world alliance, the United Nations, which offers the only hope for Canada's peace with the rest of the world in future. That implies that we must always be on guard against any revival of those forces which still try to frustrate the fight against Hitler because of their hatred of the U.S.S.R.

What are some of the forces at work in our country to make our position more difficult, and to cause misunderstandings? That is a question we must answer in order to combat those forces. Perhaps more typical (and

more dangerous) than many of these sources is to be found in the Winnipeg Free Press, the main organ of Liberal party *policy* in Canada. This pamphlet sets out to examine some of the Free Press's firmly-held opinions with two aims in mind: firstly, to help to sharpen the awareness among our citizens of life-and-death questions, and, secondly, through an examination of the Free Press to look at the King government's policy, remembering that the Free Press is perhaps the most authoritative and politically influential Liberal party paper in Canada.

In that sense, then, the pamphlet here presented will stick to the facts and comment on some of the recent editorials of the Free Press.

The Sage of Liberalism

On October 16, 1943, a banquet was held in Winnipeg in honor of John Wesley Dafoe, editor-in-chief of the Winnipeg Free Press. Mr. Dafoe has completed 60 years in the world of Canadian journalism. He has been an eye-witness of, and sharp commentator upon, many of the great events in Canadian history, and in his speech to the guests at the banquet he recalled many of these rich experiences.

No doubt about it, Mr. Dafoe will occupy a prominent place in the history of Canadian journalism. He is one of the most scholarly and influential political writers of his day. He has reared up a whole generation of Canadian political writers, so that his paper can justly be called a "school of political writing." Men like Grant Dexter, B. T. Richardson, J. H. Gray, George V. Ferguson (not forgetting the late T. B. Robertson) are among the most skilfull of Canadian political journalists.

These men, and especially John Dafoe, have a special responsibility to Canada, not only because of their journalistic ability, but, *politically*, because they present in

coherent form many of the policies dominant in the MacKenzie King cabinet—and as such, their writings affect our country and the fate of its citizens. Often, what the Free Press writes, the King cabinet is thinking about.

Whatever honors are due Mr. Dafoe, there is no doubt that today he is erecting a political monument to himself on which must be inscribed the words: "Prejudice, Fear and Hate." Why? Because on all the major issues of our country at war, the Winnipeg Free Press takes its stand with political reaction and exhibits that sort of political bankruptcy which can result only in national bankruptcy unless the people step in to change the situation.

Let us take, first of all, and most important for the purposes of this pamphlet, the Free Press's attitude to war strategy and to the present and future relation of the capitalist democracies with Russia, upon which will hinge the future of the world. And let us emphasize (although Mr. Dafoe will deny this hotly) that we do this in defense of no country other than our own. Mr. Dafoe has yet to learn that Canadians who differ with him politically can have as warm a love for Canada as he himself professes.

On *July 7, 1943*, the Free Press was in an optimistic mood. One of the sides of its split personality (the honestly liberal side—liberal with a small "l") was uppermost on that fine prairie morning. The Nazis had just unleashed an attack on the Kursk and Belgorod sectors of the eastern front, an attack which, for fire-power and concentrated metal, was the greatest in history. In fact, it has been estimated that in 24 hours on the Kursk salient the Nazis fired more explosives than they used in the entire Polish campaign!

But the Free Press, despite its small-"l" liberalism, was a little nervous. Would the Russians hold the attack? High Allied military opinion had it (in fact, had based its 1943 strategy upon the belief) that the Germans

would make big gains in Russia last summer. The besetting political sin of our military strategy was still upon us: *underestimating the Red Army and over-estimating the Nazi army*. Yet, the Russians seemed to be holding. So the Free Press, just to make sure they held, wrote:

"But what Germany dreads most is two-front war. *This is what she is going to get this year*. . . . But what is certain is that this year Anglo-American military strength is bound to co-operate fully with the Red Army. . . . The violence and progress of the fighting on the eastern front may therefore dictate the moment at which these forces will be thrown into action."

The Free Press admitted that "*such progress has been made* (in shipping, etc.—L.M.) *as to render it possible for the first time to deploy powerful forces in the European theatre*."

But the blessings of official party Liberalism (with a large "L") which permits the Free Press to sway with the wind, and usually to the reactionary side, allowed the editors to savagely attack Mrs. Dorise Neilsen M.P., a few days later, on *July 29*. Mrs. Neilsen had done a service to friendship with our Soviet ally and United Nations unity by calling the attention of the House of Commons to the re-publication by the Toronto Evening Telegram of a scurrilous attack on the Soviet Union by the Trotskyist Max Eastman in the Reader's Digest. Mrs. Neilsen rightly condemned this provocative article, and asked the government what it intended to do about such quisling propaganda.

Rushing to the aid of "free speech," the Free Press wrote:

"If Mrs. Neilsen were less a totalitarian (sic!) and more of a democrat, she would not make herself ridiculous with statements of this kind. She would know that one of the characteristics of a democracy is freedom to dissent. Peoples who understand democracy expect its newspapers to express divergent views. . . . If the Soviet government understands democracy, it will pay no official attention to anything published in Cana-

dian newspapers. That is, it will not try to get the Canadian government to suppress criticism of Russia, for it will recognize the extent of the freedom of the press in Canada. . . . But somebody should take Mrs. Neilsen and her comrades aside and quietly explain to them the essential difference between democracy and totalitarianism."

Here the Free Press comes out flatfootedly for freedom of attack upon the U.S.S.R. Of course, its vaunted high principle is so much nonsense. Also nonsense is its intimation that one has to be a Communist, or a believer in Russia's system of government, in order to stand firmly against anything that would upset the alliance we have recently gained with Russia after the needless loss of millions of lives.

Let anyone dare to publish an article in favor of Nazism, and, apparently, the Free Press would support his right to do so in wartime. Let anyone print an attack on Winston Churchill of the poisonous virulence of Max Eastman's attack on Stalin, and, presumably, the Free Press would back him up. *Presumably, I say, for of course the Free Press would do nothing of the kind, and its "liberalism" would vanish with the morning dew.*

What motivates the Free Press here (and which its liberal fig leaf will not hide, try as it may) is a deeply-rooted suspicion of the U.S.S.R. and a violent objection to the expression of any viewpoint which is not blessed by Messrs. Dafoe and William Lyon Mackenzie King. Its conception of national unity is silence—the silence of the grave.

Proof? Let us go farther along.

Defeatism Rampant

When the Quebec conference was meeting, the Free Press commented on the absence of Stalin. With its tongue in its cheek, it "justified" Stalin's absence.

But as the editorial writer went along, *on August 13*, his spleen began to bother him, until he finally unearthed these gems to "improve" our relations with the U.S.S.R.:

"Mr. Stalin could not be present at the Quebec conference without the possibility of provoking the opening of a second front against him in Asia. But apart from this risk, which it is not desirable he should assume, it would be well if he were there. He might possibly learn the reasons why it has not been possible to date for a second front to be opened on a large scale on the western shores of Europe. It might be demonstrated to him that if his demands for a second front of this nature had been met last year the war might have been lost in a matter of weeks. He might find himself called upon to explain why he did not himself open a second front in Asia to hasten the downfall of Japan. He might be induced to shed some of his suspicions about his allies and recognize that they have made a contribution in relief of Russia to the very limit of their power; and that without this contribution all the valor of his troops and the sacrifice of his people might have been in vain. He would learn that the desire to descend upon the western European mainland with a view to the early invasion of Germany is as ardent as his own and that it will be attempted when the Allied chiefs, who are not entirely devoid of military experience and skill, think the moment has come. He might even learn that the moment was near or at hand. He would thereupon perhaps cease hectoring and lecturing the Allied governments and instructing them in what disposition they are to make of the lives of their men. "'Tis a consummation devoutly to be wished," since the persistent impercipient of the Soviet government in this respect is an obstacle to the early winning of the war and a threat to the durability of the peace."

Here you have, under cover of an apparently innocent editorial, a consistent line of attack upon the U.S.S.R. It was not enough that the Red Army in August was approaching Kharkov in the mightiest offensive of the war and engaging over 250 Nazi divisions (*two-thirds the entire German army*); it was necessary that the Free Press, safely esconced in a Winnipeg office building with no fear for its collective skin, should snipe at the Soviet government from the rear.

Here you have a definite policy:

1. A second front last year would have lost the war! Mr. Dafoe has said so. Enough said!

2. It is not enough that the U.S.S.R. fights two-thirds of the German army and immobilizes the best fighting forces of Japan on the Siberian-Manchukuan border, but Stalin, to prove that he really appreciates our friendship, should attack Japan. (Whether we would then find time to attack Hitler in France, Mr. Dafoe will not promise, for he is not given to commitments, being a Liberal.)

3. Stalin should say what he is fighting for. He can make speeches for the world to hear and elaborate his policy, but they won't get into the Free Press office. Still, for the sake of talking, he should really say what he is fighting for. (*Later in this pamphlet, in the chapter entitled "The Record Is Clear," we quote Mr. Stalin for the benefit of the Free Press.*)

4. In spite of the truth of the old adage, "actions speak louder than words," Mr. Stalin must have faith in our "ardent" hearts. How ardent some of our hearts are can be seen from the editorial of the Free Press we quote above.

5. In case Mr. Stalin doesn't know, the "*moment is near or at hand*" when the European mainland will be invaded on such a scale as to warrant calling it a second front. (Italy will not do, for Mr. Churchill has told us, twice, that Italy is *not* the second front.)

6. Instead of exhibiting some impatience over the fact that the U.S.S.R. is *losing more men in a day than we have lost in three years of war*, Stalin should keep quiet and stop advising the Allies about military strategy. After all, what can the Red Army know about strategy? They haven't attended the Imperial War College!

7. Because the Russians want to smash Hitler east and west and end the war this year, as they believe can be done, they are *an obstacle to the early winning of the war and a threat to the durability of the peace.*"

Here you have the most poisonous set of defeatist "principles" ever to be committed to print in our public press, outside of the pro-fascist sheets in Quebec and the Toronto Evening Telegram. And the Free Press is a government paper!

What policy would the Free Press have us pursue? Judging by this editorial, it could only be one of supine, spineless, cowardly assent to all present war policy as enunciated by its editorial writers and by the King government—an assent which would be the very opposite of wide-awake public opinion that Mr. Churchill has asked for; in fact—a denial of democracy. And criticism, any desire to get to grips with the enemy, any impatience with continued delay, is tantamount to “*playing the game of Stalin*.” Actually, the Free Press is playing the old game of drawing a red herring across the path of progress.

Canada's Pontius Pilate

Psychiatrists know very well cases of people who feel a terrible guilt about something, and who resort to every trickery to fasten guilt upon someone else in order to appease their own consciences. Perhaps the greatest story of this kind in all history is the way that Pontius Pilate washed his hands of responsibility.

Mr. Dafoe, on August 13, exhibited the characteristics of this Pontius Pilate guilt complex. An article was published by him called: “Russia, Too, Must Co-operate.” It is not enough for us to trust the Russians, says Mr. Dafoe. The Russians must trust us. After all the Russians are a “*land power*” and don’t understand the sea. Neither do they understand the air. They are “*land-minded*.” They have no empire to look after, as we have. And, if they are able to attack along 1,000 miles of front and push the Nazis back, it is because we have bombed the Ruhr!

More than that. The Russians refuse us permission to bomb Germany from bases within Russia! The Russians, presumably, are not able to bomb Germany. We must do it for them. And because they won’t give us

bases, they are ungrateful and rude and impudent and quite unreasonable.

Major-Gen. Galaktionov of the Red Army recently answered this last canard. He pointed out that the request for bases for Allied aircraft in the Caucasus was never an issue; what was, and is, an issue is to attack Germany from the east and west with all arms—not aircraft alone. Not unreasonably, he held that Germany is getting plenty of punishment on the eastern front; what is required to end the war most swiftly is to punish her on the west.

Of course, the Free Press is quite courteous to the gallant Red Army and gives it credit for what it is doing. (It would be very unpopular not to do that.) But, the iron fist is hidden within the silken glove. The article is actually a bitter attack on the U.S.S.R.. Conscience-bothered because of *our* shortcomings in the fighting so far in this war, the Free Press tries to pin the blame on the *Russians*. A dirty game.

On *September 1* the Free Press returned to the attack with all guns firing. It published an editorial which is perhaps the most violent of them all. It is entitled: "Next Move Is Up To Stalin." This was written when the Red Army had put the Nazis (and also many Allied military commentators!) to rout in the Ukraine, and was pressing to cross the Dnieper.

Just to help the battle along, the Free Press wrote:

"It is not unfair to say, in the light of Mr. Churchill's speech, that the major share of responsibility for that lack of progress rests upon Russia. For this there are many reasons, the various merits of which it is not profitable to discuss. Chief among them was the persistent and prolonged distrust that has animated the Russian regime ever since the revolution towards the western powers, and the equally powerful distrust engendered and maintained in the western capitals toward the Kremlin. The incidents in this unhappy tradition are too numerous to mention here, though the last publicly-proclaimed events of importance was the signature in 1930 of the German-Soviet treaty.

"That episode, disastrous in its consequences to both Great Britain and France—and indirectly to the United States—was forgotten by the western powers on June 22, 1941. Mr. Churchill's immediate declaration of solidarity with the Soviet Union in our joint effort to overthrow the Hitlerite regime was his signal—and an honest one—that the past was to be blotted out. It is not unfair to suggest that there have been few indications from Moscow that it was accepted, as it should have been, at its face value. There has remained a large degree of suspicion that the western democracies had embarked upon a campaign of double-dealing designed to bring about the joint downfall of Russia and Germany, and that the failure to open large-scale military operations after the fashion desired by Russia was because their real, as distinct from their professional, aim was to enlarge the post-war scope of western supremacy.

"It has been extremely difficult to clear up this misconception and the difficulties have been very greatly increased by the complete secrecy which shrouds every Russian operation of any kind. The normal amenities of intercourse between Allies are largely disregarded by the Soviet government and the Red army, and processes of co-operation which should be easy to effect are repeatedly blockaded by lack of willingness on the part of the Soviet to come half-way, even in such comparatively simple matters as the provision of Russian bases for our heavy bombers which could, from such starting points, effect raids of the utmost military importance to the Red army. Co-operation, as we have previously remarked, is a two-way road.

"Mr. Churchill's speech, in these circumstances, was an appeal to Stalin and to the Russian people to give us a larger measure of their trust than has been hitherto accorded. It was done with tact and with a full appreciation of the prodigious feats of arms of the Red army. The next move, therefore, is up to Stalin himself. Only he can clear the road that lies ahead."

Again (and it is a pity that it *still* has to be done) we draw the reader's attention to Stalin's speeches on this matter of war policy. If we had stated half as clearly our attitude to the enemy and the post-war world, and if we had backed up those statements by the appropriate military action, things would look a lot more promising than they do, and such pamphlets as this need not be written.

Two days before this editorial was written, and as

part of the same anti-Soviet binge, the Free Press dealt in "Hard, Historic Facts," as the editorial was called. It started out with a very sharp warning to our Soviet ally:

"There are increasing indications that the Russian government, through its own press which of course it completely controls, and its partisans in the press and the public life of the English-speaking countries, are trying to give to the demand that the American-British combination should open forthwith a second front in France, regardless of what this might do to their campaign in the Mediterranean, in Burma, in the southwest and northwest Pacific, a moral backing by the argument that, in failing to do this at once and to the extent stipulated by Moscow, there is an indefensible repudiation of a plain obligation."

The first "historical fact" which the Free Press digs up is that Mr. Chamberlain, out of purely noble motives, declared war on Germany to save Poland from the Nazis, and that only "malcontents" still say *that a pact with Russia was both necessary and possible to prevent such a catastrophe for British policy*. Conveniently forgetting the crime of Munich the Winnipeg Liberal organ poohpoohs the ideas that a Russian-British alliance could have saved the situation.

It does so for the purpose of upsetting any belief that any ordinary citizen might hold that Britain has progressed from Chamberlainism to Churchillism, or that the long-delayed Soviet-British alliance marked a fundamental change in the nature of the war and the relations between the democracies.

But to give that alliance flesh and blood through a second front makes the Free Press frantic. To "prove" that the second front has no political implications flowing out of our alliance, but is purely a matter for the military experts, the Free Press falsifies history and puts the U.S.S.R. in the dock instead of Chamberlain.

To ask for the second front, says the Free Press, is to imply that the U.S.S.R. "nobly, and without giving a thought to her own danger," came to Britain's rescue

in 1941. Only for people who believe that, says the paper, could "the line which is being followed by the Soviet press at home and abroad be made intelligible to a detached (sic) and disinterested (sic) mind."

"Morality" and the Second Front

The Russians, says the Free Press in effect, have no moral right to ask for the second front. Their demands for carrying out the United Nations agreement in military terms are getting wearisome, in fact, are getting us angry.

Says the paper:

"There is no disposition on the part of those who express astonishment, which is beginning to have an element of indignation at this continuing state of affairs, to minimize in the slightest degree the superb defence which Russia has offered to Hitler's attempt to conquer the country—a defence which of course would have been much more difficult if Germany had only Russia to deal with. Or to question the invaluable contribution this has made to the joint effort to destroy Nazism root and branch—an effort which is well on the way to success if dissension between the Allies, which is now Hitler's only hope, does not develop. That dissension has now become a possibility by reasons of Russian inability to appreciate the problems with which the Anglo-American combination is faced, and its readiness to assume that its defence of its homeland gives it a right, not to confer with the Allies, which would be welcomed, but to instruct them in how they are in future to dispose of their treasure, their material, and the lives of their people. Russia is in need of some plain talk and it is to be hoped she is getting it—preferably from Mr. Maisky and Mr. Litvinoff, who are in a position, if they have the necessary courage, to supply it in full measure.

And, lest our Soviet ally get conceited, it must be told the following (on *September 6*) by means of this "plain talk" which Mr. Dafoe certainly has the courage (or the impudence?) to make:

"That this danger (of attack upon Canada by Hitler—L.M.) has passed is due to the defeat of Germany in

the battle of Britain and the battle of the North Atlantic."

Having received nothing tangible from the fact that the Red Army destroyed the strategy of the Hitlerites to dominate the world, Canadians, according to the Old Man of Winnipeg, have no duty to give anything in return!

But the Free Press manipulates the second front issue for its own political purposes. On September 27, in an editorial entitled "The Second Front Looms," it tells us that *"the evidence that it is about to be embarked upon has reached the conclusive stage."* Is the Free Press pleased? Not at all. It uses these brave words, not to raise the wartime morale of people who are wondering when the fight really starts, but to get in a dig at those critics of Mr. King who are worrying about the post-war world.

Correctly enough, the Free Press puts the war first, and says the post-war is subordinate to the ends of the war. But its real purpose (as we shall see later) is to do homage to the vow it has written upon its inky heart: Mr. King Can Do No Wrong!

Its Liberal conscience (or its circulation manager?) began to prick the Free Press next day, *September 28*. In an editorial upon its favorite theme, Russia, entitled "Relations With Russia," the Free Press comments on the visit of the Archbishop of York to Moscow to say: *"Understanding and confidence between the people of Russia and of other countries must be the basis of a permanent alliance to establish peace and stability in the world."*

The Free Press approved of Lord Beaverbrook's return to the British cabinet in the following glowing terms: *"Apart from his recognized ability, he has been a strong advocate of the opening of the second front in Europe. His return to the British cabinet should be well received in Moscow."*

The bright prairie autumn sun fell upon Winnipeg. (That Churchill's famous "autumn leaves" were falling did not occur to Mr. Dafoe.) But, nevertheless, the bright sun was shining. The Free Press was in generous and pitying mood.

It wrote on *September 30*:

"The rapid retreat of the Nazis in Russia is giving some of our deep-thinking prognosticators a chance to climb out on limbs again and they, of course, are leaping at the opportunity.

"The latest theory being batted around goes something like this: The Nazis are going to retreat clean out of Russia and into Poland. Then they are going to sue for a separate peace with the Russians in order to have a free hand in the west. The Russians, who are irritated by the failure of the Second Front to materialize when desired, will make peace with the Germans once they have driven the invaders completely out of their own country. They will then consider that they have performed their part in winning the war and leave the rest to us.

"This engaging piece of mental gymnastics seems to ignore the most important of all the facts of the situation. That is, the attitude of the Russians toward the Germans. They may be irked at their allies, but they are consumed by a seething hatred of the enemy. The behavior of the Germans in Russia has been so bestial that the one desire of millions of Red army men is to kill Germans.

"For a year now, the information bulletin of the Soviet embassy in Washington has been giving chapter and verse of the Nazi atrocities in Russia. It is sickening reading to us. How much more so it must be to the Russian people themselves, of whom many millions have lived through these atrocities!

"The Germans have shipped hundreds of thousands of Russians into Germany as slaves. They have brutally treated the Russians in the occupied territories. They have plundered and raped and burned without restraint. If the Nazis hope to get any kind of a soft peace from the Russians, our guess is that they are going to be bitterly disappointed."

A good editorial. It hits at the Nazi-inspired talk of a separate peace between the Soviet Union and Germany and pays tribute to the fighting qualities of our ally whose "one desire" is to kill Germans.

On *October 3* Tim Buck and the writer spoke to an audience of 3,000 in Winnipeg. Hurt by a public discussion of wartime strategy that was not in line with Mr. King's conception of how to fight this peoples' war, the Free Press relapsed into its normal state of hectic indignation over the demand for a second front and criticism of Mr. King.

On *October 5* the Free Press impugned the loyalty to Canada of the speakers. Here the author takes the liberty of reprinting his article in the Canadian Tribune of *October 16*.

It constitutes the next chapter of this pamphlet.

The Winnipeg Free Press and Loyalty to Canada

The Winnipeg Free Press is rapidly becoming the principal of that "urbane" and "impartial" school of opposition to our Soviet ally which hesitates to be as flagrantly anti-Soviet as the Toronto Evening Telegram, possibly because of an uncertainty as to its readers' reactions, but also because of its innate Mackenzie King Liberalism, which tries to be all things to all men. *But it is all the more dangerous precisely because of its "polish."*

It must not be forgotten that the Winnipeg Free Press is one of the most political newspapers in Canada, inasmuch as it speaks for Mackenzie King's party in a learned and often academic manner. It would be shortsighted not to associate some of the basic ideas at least of the Free Press with the Prime Minister. The *method* of thought of both is the same.

On *October 3* Tim Buck and myself spoke to a large Winnipeg audience. Among other things, we gave our opinions on the conduct of the war, that ever-popular

subject of conversation among Canadian. We criticized the Free Press as an apologist for our present military inaction in Western Europe, and, worse, for its attempt to "prove" that Joseph Stalin and the Soviet people are not pulling their full weight in this war. All things considered, we said, this line of the Free Press (most openly written in an editorial of September 1 entitled "The Next Move Is Up To Stalin") approached a betrayal of our national interests, inasmuch as any weakening of the United Nations would lay Canada open to future dangers of attack by fascist aggressors. In the unbreakable unity of Canada with the Soviet Union, within the United Nations, we saw the only tangible hope for the future security of our country. We implied that closeness to the U.S.A. and Britain were not enough, as recent history has more than proved.

The Free Press, as we expected, came right back on October 5.

Such debates are useful, but only if they lead to greater unity among the peoples and nations fighting Hitler. Unfortunately, the Free Press, blinded by deeply-seated prejudices, muddies up the watters of national unity each time it enters the debate.

In its latest article, the Free Press questions the national loyalty of the Labor-Progressive party *because Tim Buck and his colleagues are agitating for a Second Front to end the war in 1943*. Not being military experts, these men base themselves on the experiences of the war so far, on the desires of the people, on their knowledge of the powerful anti-Soviet influences at work to weaken the co-ordinated United Nations, and on the opinions of Red Army generals, British generals like Fuller, Canadian generals like McNaughton (*who said we could have stayed in Dieppe*) and American generals like Marshall.

They also base themselves on the desires of the common people to get to grips with Hitler and finish him off. They see no sense in waiting, waiting and waiting

until autumn leaves have fallen and the snow comes, to launch the full-scale attack in Western Europe, when possibly the power of the Red Army's 1943 offensive will have declined. They believe that to prolong the war, needlessly, because of baseless fears of the Soviet Union, is to pile up the cost of the war in lives and materials.

This, says the Free Press, *amounts to loyalty to the national interests of the Soviet Union and disloyalty to Canada*. Presumably, by the same token, attacks in Guadalcanal are loyalty to Australia, attack in the Mediterranean is loyalty to France, attack on Japan is loyalty to China, and attack on the Aleutians is loyalty to the Eskimos!

Buck and Morris, say Messrs. Dafoe and Ferguson of the Free Press, "*accept without question the military expertise of the editors of the Red Star (paper of the Red Army) and accept without argument the claim of the Russians that the war can be won in 1943 if a second front is opened.*" They have no faith in the general staff of the Allies, says the Free Press, and consequently are people who have loyalties only to the Russians.

This is sheer nonsense. We have the greatest amount of confidence in the Allied military opinion which is based on the principle of attack. Of such is *General MacArthur*, who demands a completely offensive strategy in the Southern Pacific. Of such is *General Marshall*, whose recent report to Congress was based on the offensive policy. Of such is *McNaughton*. And so on. The Free Press is guilty of outrageous misrepresentation when it accuses the Labor-Progressive party of failing to back up our military chiefs. That party has perhaps done more than the Free Press, which constantly snipes at the advocates of the co-ordinated offensive strategy.

The Free Press writes: "*That the Second Front is coming is not a subject that can be debated. It will be launched.*" Agreed. But, *when?* As Churchill and Roosevelt have said (when they promised the second front in

June, 1942), the Red Army is bearing the brunt of the war, is engaging the overwhelming majority of the enemy forces. The losses of the Soviet people in this war could not have been withstood by any other state, Churchill has said. The Nazi army has been defeated in the field, its offensive power has been broken. *Hitler cannot win the military battle; he still hopes to win the political battle by a separate peace.* The point is: *further delay in having the United States, British and Canadian forces engage, let us say, one-third of the enemy, is endangering the United Nations alliance, which is based on equally sharing the conflict, proportionate to the strength of each member of the alliance.*

To further delay the second front, and to pretend as the Free Press seems to, that Italy and North Africa are sufficient alternatives (when Churchill has specifically defined both operations as being far from the second front), is to risk the United Nations alliance.

We have only to repeat the question which Dorothy Thompson and others are asking: *Where shall we be if the Red Army wins the war alone on the eastern front?* —to understand that the moral collapse which would follow what amounts to a betrayal of our solemn war pact with the U.S.S.R. would be of such proportions as to banish any dream of post-war collaboration.

The Soviet Union, neither in peace nor war, is going to win *our* battles for us.

We have to fight them ourselves, for ourselves, *and pay the price for victory.* *We are not going to win this war on the cheap; we are winning it that way now, and, we may be sure, the price we shall ultimately have to pay will be costly indeed.*

Is this a "betrayal" of Canada's national interests? If it is, the Free Press must make the most of it. We think it is not. On the contrary it is a betrayal of our true national interests to impute to the demand for a unified

military strategy nothing but solicitude for the interests of the U.S.S.R. Even to suggest that shows a background of prejudice, suspicion and even hatred of the U.S.S.R. which was one of the immediate causes of this war, inasmuch as it was the motivation behind the Munich pact.

The Free Press goes further. It says that Tim Buck and his associates are against strikes in wartime because strikes would hurt the Soviet Union. *"This is all to the good," says the sage of the Liberal party.*

That is a lie. The Labor Progressive party is against strikes in wartime because it stands for national unity and all-out war effort to defend Canada. It has said so repeatedly, and the Free Press can go through its voluminous files and it will find not a jot or tittle of evidence to the contrary. *It can also find evidence that the chief cause of wartime strikes is Mackenzie King's labor policy, which it defends.*

But the Free Press caps all this farrago of baseless suspicion of the U.S.S.R. by the statement (often repeated nowadays as a last defense of the policy of military inaction in western Europe) that while *"we"* (presumably Canada, Britain and the U.S.A.) are fighting *Germany and Japan, Russia is only fighting Germany.*

The paper says: *"This war may end for Russia with the defeat of Germany, but for the rest of us it must go on until Japan's tremendous power for evil has been destroyed forever. This is a fact in which Mr. Buck and Mr. Morris show a surprising lack of interest they would not evince if they, like the rest of us, nailed their loyalty to a national interest to the Canadian mast."*

Here we have the "theory" of two wars: *One war is being waged by the Soviet Union against Germany; the other is being waged by us, mainly against Japan, Germany being the main preoccupation of the U.S.S.R.*

This "theory" is the refuge of every blinker at the facts. What facts?

Firstly, that Germany is the *main* enemy, politically, militarily, strategically, economically, geographically.

Secondly, Japan is a *satellite* of Germany, which entered the war only when Germany attacked the U.S.S.R., and which cannot, as a second class power, fight very long if Germany is defeated.

Thirdly, the U.S.S.R. was smashing Japanese armies on the Siberian frontier when Canada was shipping nickel and scrap to Japan for use at Pearl Harbor and elsewhere.

Fourthly, for the U.S.S.R. (which is fighting 257 enemy divisions as against the six we are fighting) to now engage Japan in war would *endanger the whole victory over the Axis*. Surely even the Free Press has an atlas and *SOME* knowledge of military dispositions in this war, and can draw this conclusion for itself!

This "theory" is a "smeared" edition of the criminal intention of seeing the U.S.S.R. emerge from this war "bled white" because of its single-handed fighting against nine-tenths of the Germany army.

But the Free Press reckons without the people, and especially without the citizens of Winnipeg. They are not satisfied with the use to which the Canadian army is being put. They do not want the Red Army to pay the larger cost of this war. And they are very suspicious of a paper which, in June, 1941, when Hitler attacked the U.S.S.R., expressed the hope that the struggle would be "*bloody and prolonged*."

Why doesn't the Free Press explain that treacherous statement—treacherous to Canada and to the United Nations?

Another "Communist Plot"

On *October 12* the Free Press returned to the attack. It now attempts to make the second front question a

"Communist" issue, which is tantamount to saying that this is a war "for Communism," and that victory via a second front would mean "Communism" in Europe. You will remember that this is Goebbels' line: fighting alongside Russia against Germany will bring Bolshevism to Europe and perhaps to the world.

In an editorial entitled "Once Again: The Second Front," Mr. Dafoe deplores Stalin's desire to "*play a lone hand*." Mr. Dafoe, anxious about this, and worrying about the situation of the British Commonwealth in the post-war world, makes the following contribution to his professed desire to see collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and ourselves:

"A Russia, intent upon furthering Communist revolutions in Europe and Asia, would have the world in flames in a decade; and with a Russia enthralled with a revival of the Czarist dreams of conquest and domination, the prospect of continuing world peace would be equally worthless."

What has this to do with the second front? the reader will ask. The Free Press sees in the "clamor" for the second front an attempt to foist Soviet policy on the world. Says our shivering Mr. Dafoe, this is a prelude to Stalin's "lone hand" game after the war! It is a Communist plot. In fact, the Free Press comes dangerously close to saying that victory over the Axis may perhaps be a "Communist plot" for it writes in the same editorial:

"Deductions from these occurrences, which would seem to be justified by the known facts, are that Soviet Russia is determined to develop a foundationless grievance against the English-speaking Allies for future tactical purposes; and secondly, that the Comintern is in good working order notwithstanding its ostensible suppression by the Soviet government. Nothing is to be gained and much may be lost by the refusal of the Allied publics to give due weight to this threatening development. It is a time to make it clear to the Soviet government that, notwithstanding the Tim Bucks and the Earl Browders, the peoples of the Allied countries are standing solidly behind the Allied governments in their determination to rely upon their own judgment in matters of such high importance as the open-

ing of a second front. There is in this no hostility to Russia, no diminution in their regard for the heroic campaigns of the Russian armies, no lessening in their willingness to go a long way towards meeting Russian wishes. But there is the expression of a fixed and final determination that their governments will have something to say about when and how Allied lives are to be sacrificed in support of a cause which is, or should be, common to all the opponents of Nazidom."

The Record Is Clear

What is the Soviet Union's position on the war and towards its allies? The record is clear. All the trumped-up "charges" of bad faith and "secrecy" and the stupid claim that Stalin wishes to play a "lone hand" are seen to be nothing but sharp political practices in the light of the public statements of the U.S.S.R. And it should be remembered that the U.S.S.R. has a record of speaking its mind on these questions. It has no policy other than is announced in its public statements. It does not run with the hares and hunt with the hounds.

Actually, the false charges of the Free Press are harming the alliance and making much more difficult our task of learning to fight with, work with and live with the Soviet Union.

On September 25 the writer wrote in the Canadian Tribune a detailed account of Joseph Stalin's public statements, as they bear on the second front and on the relations with the United Nations. He takes the liberty of re-printing it in this pamphlet.

The rest of this chapter is made up of that article:

Charges of "secrecy," "refusal to co-operate" and sundry other accusations are frequently hurled at the U.S.S.R. by newspapers, columnists and politicians who have axes to grind other than all-out victory. Either they are ignorant, or they are unscrupulous, for the collected wartime speeches of Joseph Stalin are the most

frank, revealing and thorough expositions of Soviet war policies."

On July 3, 1941, two weeks after the Nazi attack, Stalin spoke to the Soviet peoples. His speech breathed confidence in Soviet arms, and hatred and contempt for the enemy. He said:

"Is it really true that the German fascist troops are invincible, as is ceaselessly trumpeted by the boastful fascist propagandists? Of course not!"

Referring to the initial losses of the Red Army, caused by the surprise attack in violation of the non-aggression pact, Stalin said:

"Naturally, our peace-loving country, not wishing to take the initiative of breaking the pact, could not resort to perfidy." Soviet troops, he pointed out, had to effect mobilization and move to the frontier, while the Nazis, trained in two years of war, awaited only a signal to throw 170 fully-mobilized divisions into action.

What did the U.S.S.R. gain by the pact with Germany, so often brought up now by abject apologists for military inaction in the West? Why don't they listen to Stalin's words: *"What did we gain by concluding the . . . pact with Germany? We secured our country peace for a year and a half, and had the opportunity of preparing its forces to repulse fascist Germany should she risk an attack on our country despite the pact."* And a very good thing for the world that the U.S.S.R. did just that!

Speaking of the Red Army retreat, then proceeding, Stalin, with the perspective of a true people's leader, called the German advance *"only an episode,"* and emphasized that the political gain of the U.S.S.R. in the eyes of the peace-loving people of the world *"is a serious and lasting factor bound to form the basis for the development of decisive military successes of the Red Army in the war with fascist Germany."*

In this call to action, he warned against complacency

and heedlessness, against *"all those moods of peaceful constructive work which were so natural before the war, but which are fatal today when the war has fundamentally changed everything."* A lesson to be learned by us!

From the first, Stalin outlined the Soviet attitude to the war. In this same speech he described it as: *a war of liberation, a war between peoples, which must eliminate not only the danger to the U.S.S.R., but also give aid to all European peoples "groaning under the yoke of German fascism."*

He brilliantly estimated the anti-fascist forces of the world: "In this war of liberation, we shall not be alone. In this great war we shall have loyal allies in the people of Europe and America, including the German people who are enslaved by the Hitlerite despots. *Our war . . . will merge with the struggles of the people of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties.* It will be a united front of peoples standing for freedom and against enslavement . . . by Hitler's fascist armies."

He welcomed the "historic" utterance of Churchill regarding aid to the Soviet Union and the declaration of the U.S. government with regard to economic assistance.

So, in his first wartime speech, Stalin laid down the line of the U.S.S.R. in war. That line has not wavered since, despite the most terrible ordeals.

He spoke again on November 7, 1941, after four months of war, on the 25th anniversary of the revolution. In that fateful four months, said Stalin, *the Soviet Union lost 350,000 killed, 378,000 missing and had 1,020,000 wounded men.* Large territories had been lost. Hitler was boasting that the Red Army was wiped out as a fighting force. Moscow and Leningrad were the Nazis' next goals.

In that dark moment, Stalin's confident voice analyzed the situation, and brought calm courage and faith to the

bleeding Soviet peoples. He said, "*It must be stated that the Germans did not conceal this plan for a 'lightning' victory. On the contrary, they advertised it in every way. Facts, however, show how light-minded and groundless the 'Blitzkrieg' plan was. It must now be considered that this mad plan has utterly failed.*"

But why did Blitzkrieg succeed in the west and fail in the east? asked Stalin.

It failed in the east because the Nazi plan "*to create a universal coalition against the U.S.S.R. did not materialize, because the 'specter of revolution' did not frighten the ruling circles of Hitler's expected allies.*" "The Germans gravely miscalculated" said Stalin, on the diplomatic as well as the military front. The "red bogey" no longer suited the new situation, but reacted upon the heads of the Nazi tyrants.

For the first time, Stalin in this speech mentioned the second front.

"*One of the reasons for the setbacks of the Red Army consists in the absence of a second front in Europe against the fascist troops.*" Thus, it is almost two years since Stalin asked for this co-ordinated military action to form, with the diplomatic co-ordination of the coalition, an irresistible force to smash the Hitlerites.

To those who doubted, he said: "But neither can there be any doubt that the appearance of a second front on the continent of Europe—and it must appear in the nearest future—will render substantially easier the position of the Red Army to the detriment of the German army."

We have not fulfilled this obligation yet. The grandeur of the Red Army's offensives at this moment can be fully appreciated only if we remember these words of Stalin, uttered about two years ago! It was not against the Germans alone that the Soviet Union fought. As Stalin said (in the same speech): "*The situation now is such that our country is waging the war of liberation*

alone without anyone's military aid, against the combined forces of the Germans, Finns, Rumanians, Italians and Hungarians."

Faith in the coalition? Let those who try to disrupt that coalition remember these words: *"And finally, there is the coalition of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States against the German fascist imperialists. It is a fact that Great Britain, the U.S. and the Soviet Union have united into a single camp which has set itself the task of crushing the Hitler imperialists and their armies of conquest."*

He said the present war "is a war of motors," and that the combined output of motors on the Allied side gives us a superiority of "three to one" as compared with Germany.

On the 23rd birthday of the Red Army (February 23, 1941) Stalin issued a special Order of the Day. He said: *"The initiative is now in our hands, and the efforts of Hitler's loose and rusty machine cannot check the Red Army's onslaught."*

But the enemy was still strong. *"He will exert the last remnants of his strength to attain success. And the more defeats he suffers, the more furious he will become."* That was true. The great Nazi lunge on the south-western front to outflank Moscow and end the war, was still to come, only to be destroyed at Stalingrad.

Stalin's attitude to Germany? Let the editors who write about "Soviet secrecy" read the words which Stalin addressed in that Order of the Day to *"the foreign press"* which *"engages in prattle to the effect that the Red Army's aim is to exterminate the German people and destroy the German state."* Here they are:

"The Red Army's aim is to drive out the German occupants from our country and liberate Soviet soil from the German fascist invaders. It is very likely that the war . . . will result in ousting or destroying Hitler's clique with the German people and the German state."

History shows that Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German state remain."

On November 7, 1942, Stalin again spoke and reviewed the war. Once more he put his finger on the central problem by saying: *"Taking advantage of the absence of a second front in Europe, the Germans and their allies transferred all their available reserves to the front, and, massing them in one direction, the south-western direction, created a big superiority of forces and achieved substantial tactical gains."*

This was the battle of Stalingrad, which, said Stalin, had the task of *"outflanking Moscow from the east, to cut it off from its Volga and Urals rear, and then to strike at the city."*

This supreme Nazi effort to destroy the Red Army failed. Although help was given by Britain, the U.S.A. and Canada in the shape of war materials, the Soviet people alone, in the absence of the central military requirement of the war—the second front, accomplished the defeat of Nazi world strategy in the present war.

Because the Germans were able to concentrate their forces on one front, they achieved successes. Stalin said: *"There can be no doubt that but for these measures, the Germans could not have achieved any success on our front."*

He compared the second with the first world war, when Germany had to fight on two fronts. His conclusion was that if a second front forced Germany to divert *"let us say, sixty German divisions and twenty divisions of Germany's allies"* away from the eastern front, the whole military picture of the war would have changed.

He said: *"It is asked: But will there be a second front in Europe after all? Yes, there will be; sooner or later, there will be. And there will be one not only because we need it, but above all because our Allies need it no less than we."*

He indicated to the world the consequences of a failure to open a second front:

"Our Allies cannot fail to realize that since France has been put out of action the absence of a second front against fascist Germany may end badly for all the freedom-loving countries, including the Allies themselves."

In this speech he again outlined the program of the United Nations:

"The program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition is: abolition of racial exclusiveness; equality of nations and integrity of their territories; liberation of the enslaved nations and the restoration of their sovereign rights; the right of every nation to manage its affairs in its own way; economic aid to nations that have suffered and assistance in establishing their material welfare; restoration of democratic liberties; destruction of the Hitler regime."

Messrs. Dafoe and Ferguson of the Winnipeg Free Press should read and re-read that statement before they write, as they did recently, that *"difficulties have been very greatly increased by the complete secrecy which shrouds every Russian operation of any kind."*

Answering Hitler (who had told a Turkish general, "We shall destroy Russia so that she will never be able to rise again") Stalin said:

We do not pursue the aim of destroying Germany, for it is impossible to destroy Germany, just as it is impossible to destroy Russia. But we can and must destroy the Hitler state."

He again defined the three military tasks of the U.S.S.R.: *Firstly*, to "destroy the German state and its inspirers"; *secondly*, "to destroy Hitler's army and its leaders"; *thirdly*, "to destroy the detestable 'New Order in Europe' and to punish its builders."

Stalin did not belittle the action in North Africa and in the air over Germany. He said: *"Thus, for the first time since the beginning of the war, the blow dealt at the enemy from the east by the Red Army merged with a blow from the west dealt by the troops of our Allies into one joint blow."*

Marshal Stalin warned against the desperate scheme of the Nazis to bring about a negotiated peace: *"... the crisis in the fascist camp finds expression in that the fascists begin to speak more frequently about peace. To judge by the reports of the foreign press, one can arrive at the conclusion that the Germans would wish to obtain peace with Britain and the U.S.A., on the condition that the latter two draw away from the Soviet Union, or, on the contrary, they would wish to obtain peace with the Soviet Union under the condition that it draws away from Britain and the U.S.A. Themselves treacherous to the marrow, the German imperialists have the nerve to apply their own yardstick to the Allies, expecting some of the Allies to swallow the bait. Obviously, it is not from fine living that the Germans babble about peace. The babble about peace in the fascist camp only indicates that they are going through a grave crisis."*

To re-read these speeches is to grasp the terrible consequences of our failure to open the second front. It is to appreciate, too, the patience and generosity of our great ally, and the wisdom and courage of its great leader, Stalin. These speeches should be in the library of every Canadian democrat. *They should also find a place on the desk of every Canadian editor.* The issues are too grave, too fraught with danger to mankind, to permit the frivolous utterances that often mark the editorials of some Canadian newspapers.

These collected speeches contain the program of the U.S.S.R. *That program is also our program in this battle for world democracy.*

Long War or Short War

The slogan of the Fifth Victory Loan was, "*Speed the Victory.*" On October 8 the Free Press wrote an editorial in support of the Loan. Totally contrary to the spirit of the Loan and the hopes of the people, it called its editorial "*A Long Fight Yet.*" The Free Press editorial line is opposed to the slogan, "*Speed the Victory.*" It argues for a long war.

It has to argue for a long war, because it opposes or derides, according to its mood, the only road to a short war—the immediate opening of a second front.

The war can be shortened by the second front. It could possibly have been over by this time had the second front been opened months ago. Hitler could have been smashed and we could have been finishing off Japan.

The reason the war has lasted as long as it has, with so much cost in life and suffering, is because so far it has been mainly a Soviet-German war. *It has not yet become the full-fledged war of coalition which is implicit in the United Nations agreements.* That is why elements of bad faith are to be seen in the camp of the United Nations; that is why, too, the Free Press constantly shoves to the forefront all the divisive elements in the situation, and plays down the unifying elements.

For example, not one editorial emphasized the significance of the unity established in the Mediterranean Allied Commission, upon which sits Mr. Vishinsky of the Soviet Union. The Free Press failed to comment upon the full agreement which was reached with regard to the Italian armistice, and the conditions under which Italy declared war on Germany recently, although this was undoubtedly an event of great significance for future agreements on larger issues between the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Britain.

Rather does the Free Press show concern about post-

war Europe, about boundaries, about what it conceives to be the "lone wolf" policy of the U.S.S.R. after the war and with what it professes to be convinced is a lack of good faith and sincere democratic motivation in the Soviet leaders.

As these lines are written, Anthony Eden, Cordell Hull and Viacheslev Molotov are meeting in Moscow. Enormous quantities of printer's ink have been expended in an effort to attribute to the conference the most varied of responsibilities. The Free Press has not been lacking in this.

It is well that we get a Soviet opinion on the Moscow conference, in view of all the talk about boundaries and Soviet post-war aims.

Pravda, a leading Soviet paper, published an editorial on the eve of the Moscow conference. It pointed out the amount of speculation in the press abroad about the meeting. (The Free Press, which is so righteous a guardian of the freedom of opinion, rarely if ever publishes an extract from the Soviet press.) It could, for example, have published this quotation from the Pravda editorial referred to above:

"The American press, too, devotes considerable attention to the forthcoming three-power conference, evaluating its significance first and foremost from the viewpoint of strengthening the relations between the Allied countries in general and the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States in particular.

"It is known that wide public circles in the United States as well as in influential American business circles regard close co-operation with the Soviet Union both in the struggle against the common enemy as well as in securing the post-war peace as corresponding to vitally important interests of the United States. The section of the American press reflecting these views welcomes the idea of the conference being convened and expects positive results from it.

"On the other hand, a certain part of the American press—the papers of Hearst and McCormick, isolationist organs—has lately intensified its hostile campaign against the Soviet Union

with the object of sowing suspicions and doubts among Americans in relation to their Soviet ally.

"In connection with the preparations for the three-power conference certain papers are now specially engaged in inventing all kinds of alleged "insoluble differences" between the Allies, which clearly hinders the strengthening of co-operation and bringing grist to the mill of the Hitlerites.

"Certain idle gossipers, in an attempt to cause confusion, make ridiculous conjecture regarding the agenda of the forthcoming conference, going so far as to foretell that the subject of discussion will allegedly be "the question of U.S.S.R. frontiers" or the "status of the Baltics" although it is clear to everybody that *the frontiers of the Soviet Union can be the subject of no discussion no more than, let us say, the frontiers of the United States or the "status of California."*

"At the same time the New York Times, like many other American papers, consistently expresses the thought in its columns that political questions and particularly those relating to the post-war organization of Europe, and not military questions, will be the main subject of discussion at the conference.

"These papers seem to forget that the paramount task of the United Nations at the given moment is to bring nearer the post-war period! Drawing all kinds of conclusions and inferences in connection with the conference, certain American papers sometimes forget that the co-operation between the United Nations is built up on a most realistic basis, and is very concrete.

"The extensive economic assistance given by the United States as well as Great Britain to the Allied countries, the unanimity reached during the armistice talks with Italy, the formation of the Military Political Commission of the Allied states—these can serve as examples of the developing co-operation of the Allied countries.

"Undoubtedly the three-power conference is confronted with the practical tasks of extending and strengthening this co-operation in the different spheres and not only in the economic and political, but also in the military sphere, because joint action directed at hastening the rout of Hitler is an absolute prerequisite for solving all the other questions of post-war organization and for long post-war co-operation of the U.S.S.R., the United States and Britain to establish lasting peace."

Pravda points out how this press campaign really assists the enemy.

"Certain organs of the press in the neutral and even in the Allied countries reflect a *provocative campaign*, the thread of which leads to Berlin or to its fascist friends, a campaign which aims at sowing doubts and distrust between the Allies.

"Rebuffing the different kinds of rumors and inventions about the Soviet Union, the British Observer writes about the hostile voices which practically simultaneously express two contradictory assertions.

"On the one hand it is hinted that the Russians are prepared to conclude a separate peace with Germany when the Red Army reaches the 1940 border; on the other hand, there are outcries that the Russians are trying to be the first to enter Berlin in order to have a chance to dictate the peace terms and the future organization of Europe."

Let us for a moment run over the arguments that have been advanced to excuse the delay in opening the second front. First of all, lack of general preparation was pleaded. Then, shortage of shipping was given as the reason, and the people were asked to be patient, and await the time when the U-boat menace could be removed. Then we were told, when the Red Army was in the height of its defensive campaign (1941-42) that the Russians could not hold out, and that we must conserve our forces. When the offensive stage of the Red Army strategy began to appear, we were told that our main job lay in North Africa and Sicily. At still another stage, we were told that our main job should be concentration upon knocking out Japan.

All these pleadings remind one of nothing so much as the arguments a small boy can find for not going to bed. And most of them were just as childish.

Those that had any weight at all in them now operate no longer; for example, Mr. Churchill told us in his House of Commons speech in September, 1943, that the *main* hindrance to the second front, the U-boat North Atlantic campaign, was no longer a great danger, and that shipping to spare is now our good fortune.

Failing a single *military* argument, the press, and especially, in Canada, the Free Press, now resort more

and more to political double-dealing to excuse inaction. Hence the campaign of slander, vilification, and hostility now launched against the Soviet Union.

That is the danger inherent in the Free Press attack on coalition warfare which we have described in these pages.

Writing in the Red Book magazine for *January, 1943*, Max Werner (the famous military author whose scientific arguments for the second front the Free Press has never dared to assail) paid a glowing tribute to Lieut.-General A. G. L. McNaughton, commander of the Canadian Army Overseas. He said General McNaughton is a "*great technician*" and a "*scientist in the mastery of arms.*" He also said that McNaughton from the first has been an advocate of the second front. That is true.

Faced with the enormous problem of maintaining morale in the Canadian Army Overseas, McNaughton has time and again promised his men the action it is certain he expected to take place long before this. To maintain an army in constant training for a battle which never seems to come, is a harder task than actually leading that army into action. General McNaughton deserves the thanks of every Canadian for the magnificent way in which he has discharged his duties.

Early in 1942, General McNaughton issued his famous description of the Canadian Army Overseas: "*a dagger pointed straight at the heart of Berlin; a long-range weapon with tremendous hitting power.*" That remains true. But it is significant that not for some time now, even in his speech for the Fifth Victory Loan in October, 1943, has General McNaughton issued statements of a similar militancy and expectancy.

The reason is not to be found in McNaughton or his men. *It is to be found in the political trickery and vile suspicion of the U.S.S.R. which papers like the Free Press have fostered.*

Let us put McNaughton's words on the record again, and let the reader contrast them with those of the Free Press. These are statements by the General made from time to time in 1942:

"Nineteen forty-two will be a big year.

The Canadian army is going to march through France into Germany. . . . We are going to cross the Channel again. I am greatly comforted by what I have seen in the war plants of Canada. They spell victory for England, the United States, Russia, Canada and the Allies. . . . The United Nations should be going to the races soon.

"The Canadian army is the dagger pointed straight at the heart of Berlin; a long-range weapon with tremendous hitting power.

"Some of these days—and I hope they are not far away—we will be giving the Germans a taste of their type of warfare on their own soil. We will cross the Channel and give the Nazis a taste of their own medicine.

"The Axis had the drop on us at the start. But we are not the kind of men who are content to stay on the defensive forever. We now have the most highly mechanized forces of their size in the world, and Hitler shall soon learn about that. . . .

There will have to be an invasion of the continent. You cannot bring well-organized Germany to her knees with bombs alone. . . .

"We don't win wars by sitting in defensive positions, however important they are. With the Canadian forces in Britain we've had two things in front of us: to contribute the maximum of our power to help in the defense of the British Isles and to prepare ourselves for attack on the Germans abroad as soon as the proper opportunity comes. . . . Throughout all these long and weary months of waiting we have never lost sight in training or purpose, of the need for offensive action.

"The Government and people of Canada are thoroughly determined that the maximum support in this war against Hitler will be given, and that applies not only to the army, but to the air force and, equally important, to industry.

"Production must be speeded to the highest possible point, and nothing must be allowed to interfere with that one end."

Defeatist on the Home Front Too

The Free Press's defeatism goes beyond the questions of the second front, our relations with the U.S.S.R. and the possibilities of a peaceful post-war world in which Canada will live in harmony with other countries. On all the main domestic issues, its reactionary prejudices burst its Liberal party seams.

It is an abject defender of Mackenzie King's war labor policy, and refuses to give an inch to the demands of labor for that democracy which Mr. Dafoe vaunts so publicly each day. It pays special attention to the trade unions at this time. During the recent conventions of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the Canadian Congress of Labor, it sent one of its editorial writers, J. H. Gray, to report the proceedings. *His despatches and editorial articles were of a piece, politically, with Mackenzie King's rebuke to Canadian labor during his speech to the Liberal Federation on September 28, 1943, when the prime minister warned the trade unions, at their peril, not to have anything to do with political action.*

The Free Press keeps up a constant attack upon the C.C.F. for its Socialist aims and aspirations. At the present time it is the most vigorous journalistic fighter against the C.C.F. and the labor movement to be found in the country. Leading editorial after leading editorial is devoted to the purpose of "proving" that the money cannot be found to pay for social security, that you "cannot run a country without profits," that you "cannot establish unity between the workers of the towns and the farmers," and that—God help us!—there is but one way for Canada, and that is the road of the Grand Old Liberal party.

Its attack on the labor movement, of course, includes the most vitriolic misrepresentations of the Labor-Progressive party. For example, on *October 8* the Free Press, in connection with the Alberta coal crisis, charged

that the Labor-Progressives had repudiated their "no strikes in war-time" policy. This was the most flagrant lie, as anyone could see who read the public statement of the party in Alberta, which offered a practical way out of the crisis to avoid strike action.

In connection with Quebec, the Free Press carries on a "fight" against the Bloc Populaire. But it does so in the same way as Mackenzie King does it—by bewailing the drift away from the Liberal party in Quebec, but *failing to propose a single sorely-needed reform to lift Quebec out of its depressed economic state and abolish national inequalities in French Canada.*

The Free Press's policy, which we have but briefly examined in this pamphlet, cannot be attributed to the paper alone, to its editors, or to the rich Sifton family which own the paper.

The Free Press's growing reactionary politics and its dangerous defeatism must be considered a part of the bankruptcy of the Liberal Party and the inadequacy in this people's war of Mackenzie King's leadership of the war effort.

To the Free Press Liberal policy the labor movement must oppose its united ranks: to hasten the immediate opening of the second front by demanding that the King government speaks out for that coalition warfare which alone can shorten the war and speed the victory; to fight tooth and nail for trust in the U.S.S.R. and for full co-operation in the war and in the peace between Canada and the U.S.S.R.; to fight for and achieve a Labor Code which will eliminate the greater part of friction and crisis in wartime industry; to speed up the battle for economic justice to Quebec; and to prepare *now* for a post-war Canada created, built and inspired by a united labor political movement, which alone can break the power of the defeatists on the home and war fronts and clear the road ahead of all the accumulated obstacles placed in our country's way by the old-line parties.

The Only One...

One paper, and one only, in Canada has kept up the fight against the dangerous editorials of the Winnipeg Free Press.

==== THAT PAPER IS ===== The Canadian Tribune



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